

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 12647

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PASS TO DOE

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TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: PLENARY REPORT AUGUST 18, 1978

CTB MESSAGE NO.308

1. SUMMARY: AT AUGUST 18 PLENARY, JOHNSON (US), EDMONDS (UK), AND PETROSYANTS (USSR) DELIVERED STATEMENTS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. JOHNSON FOCUSED ON ON-SITE INSPECTION (OSI) RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE QUESTIONS OF JOINT PARTICIPATION IN OSIS, BASIC EQUIPMENT, AND POSITION-FIXING. EDMONDS SUMMARIZED THE ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE AND ISSUES REMAINING TO BE RESOLVED. PETROSYANTS CALLED ON OTHER DELEGATIONS TO PROPOSE SOLUTIONS FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS -- THE DURATION OF THE TREATY AND RELATED ISSUES -- PROMPTLY. COMMENTING ON OSIS, HE SAID THAT DESPITE DIFFERING VIEWS, HE BELIEVED PROBLEMS COULD BE RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY.

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THE THREE DELEGATIONS THEN AGREED THAT, FOLLOWING A THREE-WEEK WORKING BREAK, THE NEXT PLENARY WOULD BE SEPTEMBER 11. AT POST-PLENARY SESSION, PETROSYANTS READ EXCERPT FROM PRAVDA ARTICLE QUOTING A STATEMENT OF DOE OFFICIAL DONALD KERR BEFORE THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE. HE NOTED THAT STATEMENT WAS NOT THAT OF A REPORTER BUT A RESPONSIBLE US OFFICIAL, AND HOPED USG

WOULD TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS IN THE RECESS TO PERMIT THE NEGOTIATIONS TO SUCCEED. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEECH (CTB NO.309) BY JOHNSON (US) FOCUSSED ON ON-SITE INSPECTION (OSI) RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE QUESTIONS OF JOINT PARTICIPATION IN OSIS, BASIC EQUIPMENT, AND POSITION-FIXING. THE PROBLEM IN THE OSI NEGOTIATION, HE SAID, IS NOT HOW MUCH OR HOW LITTLE DETAIL THERE SHOULD BE IN THE SEPARATE AGREEMENT OR THE ANNEX BUT HOW TO SET FORTH THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE OSI PROCESS IN SUFFICIENT CLARITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE IN THE TREATY. THE PARTIES INVOLVED MUST PERCEIVE THE OSI PROCESS AS PRODUCING AN OBJECTIVE, RELIABLE REPORT.

3. JOHNSON NOTED THAT A JOINT ANALYSIS OF DATA, OR A REQUIREMENT THAT DATA PRESENTED BY THE HOST PARTY MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE ANALYSIS, WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO DOUBTS ABOUT THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE OSI. THE INTEGRITY AND CREDIBILITY OF THE OSI PROCESS ALSO REQUIRE THAT BASIC EQUIPMENT WILL BE AVAILABLE TO DESIGNATED PERSONNEL WITHOUT FURTHER NEGOTIATION ONCE AN OSI HAS BEEN AGREED. OTHERWISE, THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ENTIRE OSI PROCESS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED. FOR MANY MONTHS A PREMISE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WE BELIEVED WAS ACCEPTED BY ALL SIDES, WAS THAT CERTAIN TYPES OF BASIC EQUIPMENT WOULD BE AGREED UPON IN ADVANCE AND WOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO LATER
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NEGOTIATION. HE URGED THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE ON THAT PREMISE. FINALLY, HE SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO AGREE ON THE METHODS OF POSITION-FIXING FOR OSIS AND TO RECORD OUR UNDERSTANDING IN THE SEPARATE AGREEMENT OR ANNEX. OTHERWISE, THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE OPEN TO THE CRITICISM THAT THE DESIGNATED PERSONNEL COULD NOT BE SURE THAT THEY REACHED THE AGREED AREA OR THAT THEY INSPECTED THE ENTIRE AREA. THE US DEL LOOKED FORWARD TO RESUMING WORK ON THESE AND OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES WHEN THE SESSION RECONVENES.

4. EDMONDS (UK) DELIVERED SPEECH (CTB NO.310) SUMMARIZING MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE AND ISSUES REMAINING TO BE RESOLVED. HE SAID THAT THE GREATEST PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE WITH THE MULTILATERAL TREATY BUT THAT AGREEMENT HAD NOT YET BEEN REACHED ON A NUMBER OF ITS IMPORTANT PROVISIONS, MOST SIGNIFICANT OF WHICH WERE THE DURATION OF THE TREATY AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE REVIEW CONFERENCE. HE HOPED THAT WHEN THE TALKS RESUMED THE SOVIET DELEGATION COULD PROVIDE ITS OVERALL REACTIONS TO UK PROPOSALS ON THE UK'S ROLE IN THE SEPARATE AGREEMENT. HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IMPATIENT TO RESUME ON SEPTEMBER 11, AND HE HOPED THE

OTHER DELEGATIONS AGREED THAT THE NEXT SESSION WOULD REACH FINAL AGREEMENT.

5. PETROSYANTS (USSR), SPEAKING PARTLY EXTEMPORANEOUSLY, NOTED THE BUSINESS-LIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE WHICH HAD CHARACTERIZED THIS SESSION. HE BELIEVED THAT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS COULD BE FOUND FOR REMAINING DIFFERENCES. HOWEVER, HE SAID, "IT IS UP TO YOU" TO PROPOSE SOLUTIONS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF THE DURATION OF THE TREATY AND RELATED ISSUES. ALL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TREATY ARE INTER-

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RELATED. THAT WAS WHY HE HOPED A REPLY WOULD BE GIVEN TO ALL THESE QUESTIONS SHORTLY.

6. WITH REGARD TO OSI RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS, PETROSYANTS SAID THE SOVIET UNION ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE DESIGNATED PERSONNEL HAVING BASIC EQUIPMENT DURING OSIS AND WAS PREPARED TO RECORD THIS IN THE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO VISUALIZE BEFOREHAND ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN AN OSI. THE RELEVANT LANGUAGE MUST BE SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE BOTH TO ALLOW THE DESIGNATED PERSONNEL TO HAVE THE EQUIPMENT THEY REALLY REQUIRE, AND ALSO TO ALLOW THE HOST PARTY TO KNOW THE PARAMETERS OF THE EQUIPMENT IN ADVANCE AND PERMIT IT TO

DETERMINE THAT THE EQUIPMENT MEETS ONLY THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS AND PURPOSES OF THE INSPECTION. TOO MUCH DETAIL MIGHT IMPEDE THAT TASK. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT WITH GOOD WILL AND READINESS TO FIND PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS, THESE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS COULD BE RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY.

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7. IN THE POST-PLENARY RESTRICTED MEETING, PETROSYANTS NOTED THAT WE HAD TALKED MAINLY ABOUT ON-SITE INSPECTION IN THE FORMAL PLENARY, BUT EVERYONE KNEW THERE WERE MUCH MORE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS THAT OUGHT TO BE DEALT WITH SOON. HE THEN ASKED HIS INTERPRETER TO READ, IN ENGLISH, THE FOLLOWING EXCERPT FROM AN AUGUST 16 PRAVDA ARTICLE ON THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON CTB ON AUGUST 14: "THE FIRST TO TESTIFY ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DOE, D. KERR, FROM THE VERY SAME DEPARTMENT IN WHOSE BUDGET BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE ALLOCATED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEUTRON AND OTHER TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HIS STATEMENT LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE U.S. IS NOT PREPARING TO FOREGO THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY. "ACCORDING TO KERR'S STATEMENT, THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY ON COMPLETE AND GENERAL PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS 'WOULD POSE CONSIDERABLE COMPLICATIONS IN THE PROGRAMS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS WHICH ARE UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF DOE'. HE THREATENED THAT IN CASE THERE IS A BAN ON ALL TYPES OF TESTS, 'WE CAN LOSE OUR ADVANTAGES IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION'." PETROSYANTS THEN OBSERVED THAT SINCE KERR WAS "A RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND NOT SOME REPORTER, SUCH A REPORT MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY." JOHNSON AND NEIDLE SAID THAT THEY HAD NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE KERR STATEMENT EXPRESSED ADMINISTRATION POLICY. PETROSYANTS CONCLUDED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 11 WITH POSITIONS THAT COULD PERMIT SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF OUR WORK AND HE HOPED USG WOULD TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS. JOHNSON

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